/470 cont./
352 and Arawak tradition. Some hammocks, not many, are crudely
[286] woven. The threads which /Fig. 126 appears here/ compose
[197] them are of wool; formerly they were doubtless of cotton (Plate XXXVIII).

352 It is a delicate business to persuade a Chiriguano mother to
854 sell you the hammock of her nursling. She fears that an /Plate
754 LXXXVIII appears here/ /471/ evil-intentioned person will profit by the fact that the fabric is impregnated with urine, in order to indulge in magical practices which would make the newborn child die.

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351

Fig. 124. Chiriguano hut. Saladito (upper Pilcomayo). (Photo. A. M.)

353
[415] Along the walls are lined up vessels of all dimensions which /Figs. 127 and 128 appear here/ are kept there for the drinking feasts; some contain seed, others serve as linen cupboards or provision bags. On the walls, generally in the four
[352] corners, hang reed screens or hoops made of palm leaves /Fig. 129 appears here/ which take the place of shelves (Figs. 126 and 129).

[TEXT Continues on P. 342]

/115 cont./
obtain the participation of his people when some work of public utility is ordered.

Dominant among the Chiriguano are idleness, inconstancy, intemperance, thievery, infanticide, abortion, and even suicide, which is generally committed by the women. They only work when it is necessary and when they are overcome by want; then they will sweat in order to eat, and then with all humility they appear at the house of a Christian and deliver themselves into his charge with the whole family. But if near the carai /sic; see caray, p. 157/, they find another of their own race who might favor them, even though it be disadvantageous, they do it, because they abhor the one whom they consider the author of their misfortunes or of their captivity. Therefore whenever they speak of the carai, they append the adjective pochi, bad, perverse, tyrannical, rascally, etc.

They learn very easily everything that is taught them, especially music, for which they seem to have been born, but their fickleness ruins it all; they are not set in their ideas nor do they worry much about any loss, even that of their honor. Temperance is not even known by name, and drunkenness is glory, and for that reason in years of plenty, there are continual orgies in their towns. Thievery and cattle-stealing are relatively recent; they were not common formerly, and the cause is probably that of bad example. In certain areas young cattle disappear from sight, and they are so united that the facts are not easily uncovered. Only after /116/ some time has passed or because of enmity will some fact come to light (1).

1. In their peaceful denunciations they urge great secrecy so that the authorities will not make public their names, out of fear that the person informed upon may take revenge with the use of poison or witchcraft, and, if the crime is not proven, the authorities can do more than reprimand and admonish.

/145 cont./

776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [761] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 776 The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were [761] [753] discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

• 754 756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

/146 cont./

754 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call
756 sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (2).

752 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning
756 without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no
[825] other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano?
825 Guarerai, Indian, Iñeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following
776 story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which
756 continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being
754 lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Gũiraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected
825 and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi; do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

/147 cont./

According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call Teté walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

/148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

/148 cont./

754 760 them life would be delightful and eternal here on earth where God put him, as has been seen when we were dealing with the creation.

754 753 The same might be said of sickness. If there is something the matter with a foot, the head, the stomach, or any other part of the body, they do not blame human nature, the elements, the seasons, the sudden changes of the atmosphere so common in the region, but bad sorcerers. If someone dies suddenly, if the old and the young die, if smallpox breaks out in the village, or any other epidemic, it is always blamed on the evil sorcerers (1).

[761] 1. If someone dies because he has drunk in someone else's house, they attribute it to poison administered by sorcery. Death produced by falls, suicide, or murder is not attributed to the sorcerer.

756 622 623 643 571 731 755 Some sorcerers are best for rain and for the fields, and others for illness. If some contagious disease begins to spread around a Chiriguano town or if in the town itself one case or another has appeared, the principle cacique convokes a council of all of the lower caciques; they discuss the appropriate measures to be instituted in order to chase away the sickness at once. The first thing they do is to call one of the well-known sorcerers. Then a commission is formed to take the entreaty to the great charlatan, and usually the one charged with this is the head cacique himself, who is accompanied by one or two of the lower caciques.

755 756 554 731 The sorcerer receives the cacique's invitation as a very great honor, and furthermore, hearing the offers they make him if he manages to drive away or expel the epidemic, there is no idiot who would reject it, since the sorcerer in another town is king for the whole time that he stays there. Everything is at his disposal, men and women, goods /149/ and clothing, food and drink. He spends a better life than that of a great lord (1).

1. The one who explains the object of the

/213 cont./

797 758 164 first, came to me to be treated for their wounds, to which I applied cotton soaked with ammonia, of which I also made them drink five drops. The two went through a high fever for four days, but they are alive. Cecilia did not consider her bite very important and did not come to me; I did not know that she had been bitten. She did not have a high fever either, because in fact scarcely any blood came out, according to what her companions say.

The month of January came, just six months after June, and the little girls who had been treated with ammonia again had the same degree of fever and recovered. The other girl began to be afraid of water and to be laughed at by her companions for this fear, so much so that she was the object of foolish tricks. She went down to the town, she wanted to drink water, was unable to, and she told her parents. At once she said that she had pain in her wrist, in her little breast, and in her shoulder, and nothing could be done to treat her; the sickness got worse and she received the last rites. The night before she died she tried to run out of the house; she howled without rest and tried to hit and bite her mother. In all, she had true hydrophobia, which carried her to the grave in three days (1).

1. The child Cecilia was bitten by the rabid dog right on her wrist, which is where the first pain began six months later. When I blessed her with holy water, she was afraid and shrank away.

Until she was buried, I did not know what had happened in the month of July, but when I saw such a similarity to rabies, I inquired and it turned out to be this which had 753 caused her death. Her parents, since they could not be 754 persuaded that the bite could produce an effect after so long a time, attributed her violent death to sorcery, stating that this must have been done by a young man who a few days earlier

753 had asked for her as his wife, a proposal which had not been
● 754 accepted; but it must be noted that the Indians attribute every death to sorcery.

765 The loss of this child was greatly mourned by relatives
[764] and others, and her parents, who loved her very much, burned all of the clothes and things that she had, in addition to having buried with her the best and abundant clothing which her father had just brought her from the Argentine Republic. The girl had three donkeys which had been given to her by her father. They sold them in order not to see them any more, in order not to be reminded of their late daughter each moment and immediately weep.

855 I have related this event so that my readers may know
765 that the Chiriguano love their children whether male or female, so that they may see the grief they feel, and so that they may know that in case of hydrophobia the medicine which I administered to the girls Ana and Delina is a good remedy; after the last fever they are now completely well (1).

114 1. If some new missionary or other readers may not know of it, let them now know that ammonia drunk as drops in water and placed on snake bites and bites of other poisonous animals or insects is very efficacious. In ignorance of having been bitten by a spider, I suffered the consequences for seven months and got well as soon as I applied ammonia to it. For another bite I used ink very efficaciously; it is enough to paint the bitten part with it.

Deformed Children

845 847 732 It is not easy to ascertain why the Chiriguano kill their children who are born deformed. Some writers have stated that they do it so that all will be valiant warriors, but this reason is not satisfactory because deformed women are not found either, and certainly women are not good for war.

/287 cont./

164 757 vira-vira. The tisane made from these flowers has salutary effects, but it is not strong enough to bring about a radical cure, /288/ especially if the precaution of wrapping the child up after the potion is drunk is not taken (1).

1. Most effective for whooping cough is the use of petroleum. The child is anointed from his forehead to his belly and made to drink a few drops. In 1910 almost all of those whom I treated with petroleum got well.

164 Consumption, or tuberculosis, attacks men and women and appears in both sexes as a stomach-ache. This pain can be considered the beginning of the sickness, which usually appears after the age of 40, but in certain places it carries to the grave persons who have not yet reached the age of 20.

In the Santa Rosa mission this disease alone, in less than ten years, caused the death of more than 70 schoolgirls; at that time this mortality was attributed to the bad water there, but as it is found in other places where the water is excellent there must be another cause. For young people or adolescents it could not be the continual fires, because there are none in the schools.

164 754 755 The Chiriguano has no remedy for tuberculosis, and one who gets it is resigned to death, because whether or not he attributes everything to sorcery, he believes in it and in the poison in this case; hence the sick person goes for help to the sorcerer, who to get rid of the illness, without succeeding, uses atrocious and even immoral means when dealing with women (2).

[799] 2. The missionary buys remedies from the apothecary to treat the Indians. These remedies are almost always repugnant. If the sick person does not drink it in the presence of the missionary, he will pour it out; he has more faith in the sorcerer.

C 165 /215 cont./
President Belzu in Sucre. The latter governed between 1848-1855; thus, 100-year-old Maringay is obviously not more than about 80. An 80-year-old Indian is therefore the oldest of his tribe.

C 145 Among the Indians one almost always sees /Fig. 112 appears here/ that the one who has grown-up grandchildren is very frail and senile and stands at the brink of the grave. Indian men and women mature very rapidly, but also age quickly. At 50 the Indian is an [114] old man, at 70 a so-called centenarian. Im Thurn (1) likewise

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 190.

believes that the Indians do not grow old. /216/ He thinks that they seldom reach an age older than 40 or 50.

C 142 Maringay's hair was slightly gray. There are some Indian men and women whose hair is almost whitish yellow, but they are C [145] [164] rare (Fig. 112). I never saw a bald Indian. When they are older, their faces are deeply furrowed. Not infrequently they become blind in old age, less often deaf.

Ee 142 515 Among the Choroti and Ashluslay the appearance of old people is often frightening; they are dirty, emaciated, and bleary-eyed. This is not the case among the Chané and Chiriguano. These Indians know how to grow old in beauty, and even the old people keep themselves nice and clean.

Ee 756 If the Chané or Chiriguano Indian becomes seriously ill, the medicine man is sent for, as among other Indians.

Ee [754] The Chiriguano and Chané distinguish between two kinds of medicine men, whom they call "ipáye" or "ipáyepótchi." The former are good and lift the spell; the latter are able to lift the spell and to bewitch.

C 756 797 I once jokingly asked a Chiriguano whether Father Bernardino in Ivu was an "ipáye" or an "ipáyepótchi." The Indian answered dutifully, an "ipáye." The position of the missionary among the Indians is that of medicine man; he assumes their power and their influence.

C Ee 756 177 In the preceding I said that the whites in the vicinity of Ivu sent for an Indian medicine man to drive away smallpox.

Ee /216 cont./
754 They also sometimes believe that they are bewitched by the
177 Indians. A colonist, Gutierrez, flogged an Indian. The latter
bewitched him, so that he became ill. Inside his stomach it
C sounded like the croaking of a frog.
Ce The medicine men try to discover the bewitcher with smoke.
755 I did not see how this was done. The bewitcher, if he or she is
754 discovered, is killed.
000 /217/ In the following I shall speak about the connection
of the medicine men with the great spirits.
Ee There seems to be no difference in the appearance and
755 the method of the medicine men among the Choroti and
756 Ashluslay and among the Chané and Chiriguano. It is the same
bJ sucking out of foreign objects that have entered the body through
Ce bewitchment. Among the latter the medicine men are more
[177] secretive than among the former. Perhaps their contact with the
whites has had the effect that they themselves are beginning to
doubt their art.
Ee There is a difference, however, in the common remedies.
757 The first-named Indian tribes obtain their remedies, as a rule,
[171] from the vegetable kingdom. They boil decoctions of certain
Ee plants. The Chané and Chiriguano, on the other hand, except
[237] for certain plants, use animal remedies. Thus, on the Rio
Ce Itiyuro, the Chané use the fat of herons for swellings, wild pig
757 fat for fever, jaguar fat for pains in the bones, and toucan beaks
237 for female hemorrhages. The Chané on the Rio Parapiti use
the fat of the ostrich for chest pains, of the iguana lizard for
conjunctivitis, of the chicken for everything, and maize beer
for colds. I saw fat applied exclusively for external use.
Ce The Chané Indian is remarkable with regard to aseptic
752 treatment. I saw several times how they treat wounds in accordance
with a most modern method, namely, with boiled water. This
is different from the whites' use of pig excrement and the fresh
urine of human beings, along with salt, for the same purpose.
The reason that these Indians are familiar with such a modern
Ce method is undoubtedly their great cleanliness. They are used to
[515] washing themselves constantly. They probably hit upon the idea

/218 cont./

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If a Chiriguano is killed by a jaguar, he is /219/ buried with his head downward, so that he will not go about as such an animal. This notion of a jaguar who was a human being is widespread, especially among the Quichua /Quechua/, where this

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Fig. 113. Chiriguano grave.
Caipipendi.

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strange animal, as has been mentioned, is called uturunco (cf. p. 12 /untranslated/). If a fox howls at night near the village, someone will die.

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825

Ee /238 cont./
273 finest clay vessels, "yambuy," and places these in front of her
574 guests (Figs. 77 and 78). The person before whom a vessel with
576 cangui is placed must serve. This applies to the chiefs as well. Even I served at Indian social gatherings. It is not unusual for the men to serve the women and vice versa. The cangui is poured into decorated calabashes which are passed in turn. Everyone must drink up. A person who refuses is impolite and ill-bred. It is not appropriate for a person to pour for himself. If one wishes to be polite to the server, he first drains his bowl, then fills it himself, and offers it to him. If one drinks everything offered, he is a friend of the Indians. If one refuses, the Indians become mistrustful of him. An old Chané once said to me: "You are a nice Christian, even in the morning you drink maize beer with us." When Moberg returned home from the hunt laden with booty, the young and pretty women crowded around the happy huntsman and welcomed him with a calabash of maize beer. /239/ What were the hardships of the hunt /Fig. 118 appears
e here/ compared to those of drinking, for the women whose bowl
Ce he left untouched would never forget the insult. If one has
● [754] enemies, the drinking of cangui can be dangerous, for who knows if someone has not put a bit of his own excrement or hair in the beer, so that one will be bewitched and die. Such things happen
C in these villages.
Ce
At the festivals, evidences of Indian humor often come to
522 light. One joke, for example, is to act as though one were hand-
527 ing around cangui in a calabash turned upside down, another is to
C ask someone to play the flute on a misshapen reed.
Ce
Dance masks are now worn by the Chiriguano and Chané
535 only during the carnival, the great drinking festival of the
532 Christians. Those that I saw had the form of human faces (Fig. 119).
177
541
Very different opinions prevail among the Indians about
Ce whether or not the masks here are of Indian origin. Vocapoy
532 said the idea for them had originally come from the whites.
177 Batirayu, on the other hand, maintained that as a boy on the Rio
535 Parapiti he saw among the Chané some of the present masks, which
Ce
[796]